

Another population movement deserves mention here, although it has no direct connection with internal migration. The province of Fukien is the place of origin of the majority of Chinese emigres in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya, 167. Borneo, Siam, and islands in the South China Sea. (Chinese in the United States, as a rule, come from Kwangtung Province.) A survey conducted in 1930 revealed that among more than four million Chinese emigrants in the above-mentioned places, over one-third were originally from Fukien Province, an in-13crease of nearly fifty per cent over the 1921 figure.

Undoubtedly, the exodus continued because the causes for emigration -- political, social, and economic -- had not changed. In fact there is reason to believe that the exodus gained impetus from the reports of emigres whose success abroad must have been a great temptation to those staying at home. The 1953 Communist census figure of 11,743,320 overseas Chinese, although undoubtedly an estimate, serves to point up the continuation of similar emigration in the future, but the door of exit from Red China has not yet been slammed. From time to time Hong Kong reports the number of recent emigres from Red China, giving as reason for emigration their predicament in China under Communist rule. On the other hand, the Communist press has been vociferous in touting the success of Peking's program to encourage the return of Chinese emigrants to their motherland. It would appear that this interflow of people, if only a trickle, will still find a way to cross the border and, if the destination is somewhere in the South China Seas, will continue to find the Fukienese in its ranks.

13. Ta Chen, Emigrant Communities in South China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. 263, 269

618 government authorities, and the administration of clan property. In Fukien, the clan possessed smaller holdings than in Kwangtung, where fifty to seventy per cent of the land cultivated by clan members was estimated to be under clan control, but was still a dominant factor in the village economy and the livelihood of clan members.⁵⁰

With the victory of the Communists in the East China Region in 1949, the functional existence of the clan ceased. In Fukien, where it had occupied a major social role, the disappearance of the clan left behind a pattern of independence from central government control and of familial order and loyalty that may not be easily erased by the Communists' authoritarian regime.

C. Overseas Communities

- 167 A unique departure along the coast of Fukien (and Kwangtung in the Central-South Region) from the general family pattern in China has necessitated much innovation and adjustment by the Communist regime. From the coastal area of Fukien have come more Chinese emigrants to Southeast Asia and other parts of the world than from any other province in China with the exception of Kwangtung.

50. Ibid., pp. 173-78.

167 The Communists calculate that family dependents in Fukien of overseas migrants number two million.⁵¹

595 Before the Japanese invasion of China, the
596 family in these overseas communities was similar in solidarity, values, and social role to the family elsewhere in China, but unique in that often the male head was separated from his wife and their children for most of his adult life. If he could afford it, he would maintain a concubine and a separate family in the overseas community. Although it was usual for the children of this overseas union to be sent to China for their education and to share in inheritance of family property, the concubine rarely came with her Chinese mate when he returned to his native village.⁵²

434 During the absence of the male head from
596 his Chinese home, his wife usually acted as head of the household. She and her children were supported in great part by funds periodically remitted from abroad by the male head, and she had control of the dispersion of this and other

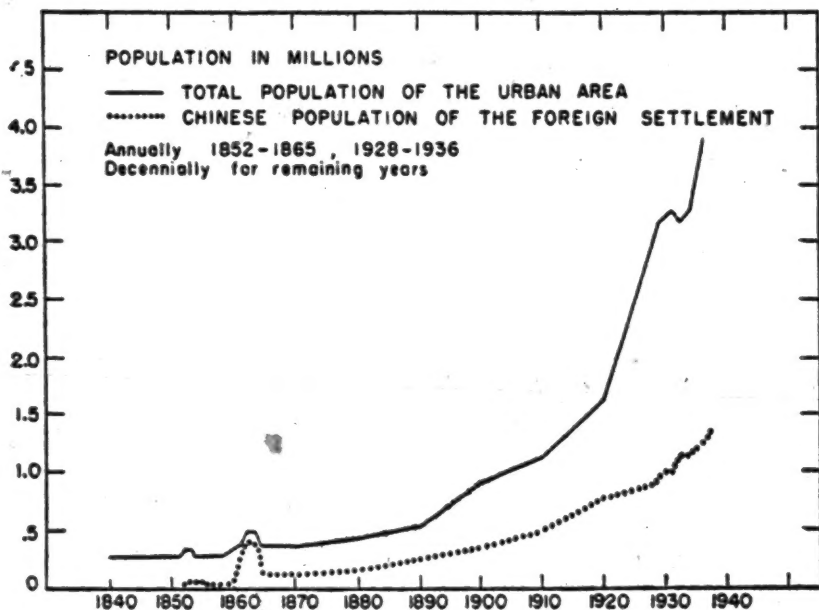
51. S.C.M.P., 1024, p. 13.

52. Ta Chen, Emigrant Communities in South China: A Study of Overseas Migration and Its Influence on Standards of Living and Social Change, ed. by Bruno Lasker, N. Y., Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. 140-43.

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162 ity of services were performed by the Chinese, including the lower-ranking employees of the foreign trading firms. The development of manufacturing in Shanghai created a need for larger numbers of foreigners, to serve as technicians and administrators, and to operate the expanded banking and financial structure which industrial development required. And as trade increased with the growth of

POPULATION OF SHANGHAI, 1840-1936



Graph 1

manufacturing and the widening of the China market for Western-type goods, a growing volume and variety of foreign imports were marketed in Shanghai and distributed from there throughout China by foreign firms.

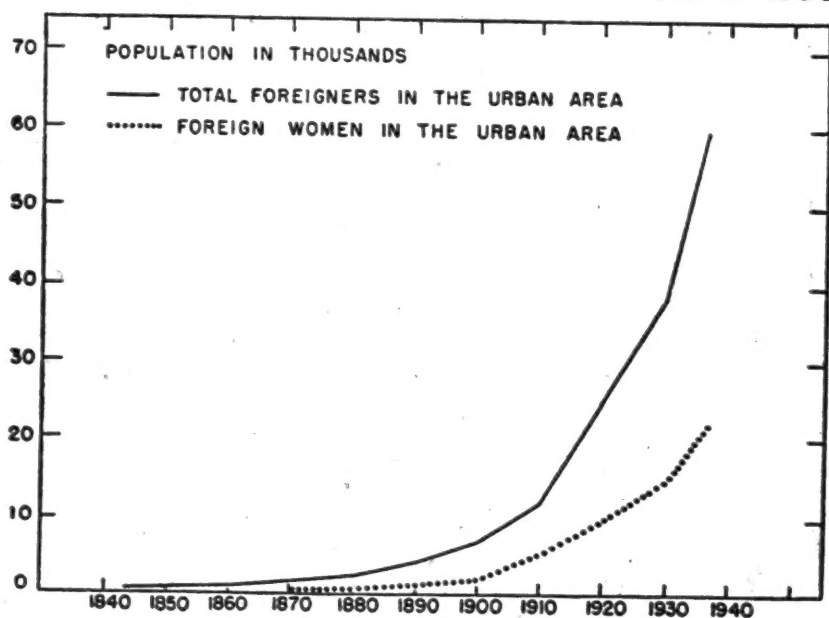
167 In the period between the two world wars, Shanghai became a refuge haven for foreigners as well as for Chinese due to its ambiguous political status as an international oasis far removed in distance from political and racial problems in Europe. First to come there in large numbers were Russian refugees from the Bolshevik revolu-

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tion, nearly a thousand annually from 1919 to 1930. After 1933, refugees from Nazi Germany found that Shanghai was the only world port which could be entered and resided in without a passport, and those who could afford the long trip formed a growing separate community in the city after 1934, many of them dependent on foreign charity.

FOREIGN POPULATION OF SHANGHAI, 1843-1936



Graph 2

In 1936 the approximate foreign total of 60,000 had as its most important constituents 20,000 Japanese, 15,000 Russians (predominantly White refugees), 9,000 British (who until about 1912, when they were surpassed by the Japanese, had always been the largest non-Chinese national group in Shanghai), 5,000 Germans and Austrians (most of them recent refugees), 4,000 Americans, and 2,500 French.³ Foreign women were scarce before 1870 (graph 2) and never constituted much more than a third of the foreign total. Their presence did little to alter the prevailing adventurer's attitude of the